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siring to reform everyone except themselves, to wage war on their neighbors who do not affiliate, to fight every competitor, and to found the organization on enthusiasm, altruism and general discontent.

On the other hand, however, he maintains that there is much in coöperative endeavor to commend itself to those who will approach it in a sane and businesslike manner.

The fundamentals of agricultural coöperation are declared to be: (1) The successful coöperative organization must be founded on a special industry such as cotton, tobacco, milk, butter, poultry, small fruits, and the like. (2) The area which it covers must be comparatively small in extent. (3) The population of the community must be of a stable character. (4) The association must be started only after the farmers have felt the pressing need of getting together. (5) There must be federation with a considerable amount of autonomy for the constituent local associations. Considerable space is devoted to a discussion of the form of organization, the legal principles involved, the matter of finances, and the more important difficulties to be overcome.

Practically two thirds of the volume is taken up with an exposition of the methods of various coöperative enterprises of interest to the farmer, such as the breeders' and growers' associations at home and abroad, the associations which market grain, eggs, milk, butter, cotton, and fruit, and those which carry on irrigation projects, mutual insurance, the purchasing of supplies, the establishment of rural credit, and the construction and management of rural telephones. A short bibliography of the more important references is also included.

Mr. Powell has not attempted to cover the entire field of agricultural coöperation, but has confined himself to its more important phases. His work shows a grasp of the issues involved and a ripeness of conclusion that comes only from actual contact with the practical side of coöperation.

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The Servile State. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (London: T. N. Foulis. 1912. Pp. 189. 2s. 6d.)

The Real Democracy. (*First Essays of the Rota Club.*) By J. E. F. MANN, N. J. SIEVERS, and R. W. T. COX. (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1913. Pp. x, 276. \$1.50.)

These two books are from the same group of thinkers and represent the same point of view. Mr. Belloc leads off with a

sharp attack upon the modern industrial system including the modern trend of economic reform. His disciples of the Rota Club in *The Real Democracy*, which is inscribed to Mr. Belloc, labor the same points more exhaustively and then disclose their scheme, or perhaps better, their vision of constructive reform. Because of their similarity, the two books may be discussed together.

The main thesis may be summed up in a few words. The next stage in economic evolution is to be a servile state "in which those who do not own the means of production shall be legally compelled to work for those who do and shall receive in exchange a security of livelihood"; in other words, the wage-earners have become enslaved. The inevitableness of this next stage arises from the fact that the present form of social organization is unstable because "the ownership of the means of production is confined to a body of free citizens not large enough to make up properly a general character of that society." For this condition of affairs there are two possible solutions: (1) A return to the idyllic condition of the Middle Ages when "slavery had gone and in its place had come that establishment of free possession which seemed so normal to men and so consonant to a happy human life"; or (2) the adoption of collectivism.

The former is a reaction to which, unfortunately, society does not lend itself readily; while those who aim to occasion the latter will be warped from their purpose by the forces of circumstance. The so-called moral basis of property and the complexities of modern property rights, Mr. Belloc admits, make it inexpedient to confiscate all property and "the proposition to buy out the capitalist in lieu of appropriating him is vain." Thereupon social reformers will have recourse to "measures to secure security and efficiency." This involves loss of legal freedom for the wage-earner but offers "the very real prospect of having enough and not losing it." Consequently, this opportunity will be eagerly grasped by the poverty-stricken proletarian.

The handle to this line of argument lies in the English employers' liability act, the insurance act, the minimum wage boards, and similar acts of legislation. These furnish examples, he believes, of status taking the place of free contract, because in these matters capitalists and wage-earners are classified *as such* and differ as to legal disability and obligation. Moreover, "the principle of a minimum wage involves as its converse the principle of compulsory labor" and with this the demonstration is completed. This is Mr. Belloc's challenge to the modern industrial movement.

In *The Real Democracy* the challenge is taken up and argued to great length but in no wise differently. The second book, however, goes beyond destructive criticism and holds up as a new ideal the associative state which is to be composed of an association of city states which in turn are to be organized on the principle of association. These associations, really guilds, are to "own as corporations a proportion of their capital, remunerate their members partly in wages or salary, partly in dividends representing the remainder of the capital contributed by the members."

The whole scheme as worked out results in a blend of syndicalism and debilitated state socialism. The state as a political organization, indeed, is to remain, but apparently is to be a secondary factor.

A guild ought to be able to plan its own activities directly and as a whole and not to find the expression of its general will conditioned and hampered at every point by the wills of state officials elected or appointed.

On the other hand, it is for the state to "require a standard." The latter proviso is not clearly worked out; and how it would be possible, in view of the wide liberty that is to be given to the guilds, for the state to effectively require this standard does not appear. It would seem that these thinkers have endeavored to work out equality in terms of economics with a background of natural rights theory, an attempt in the nature of things bound to be rather futile in the twentieth century.

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L'Evolution Historique du Socialisme Moderne. By M. TOUGAN-BARANOWSKI. Translated by JOSEPH SHAPIRO. (Paris: Librairie Marcel Rivière et Cie. 1913. Pp. 246. 5 fr.)

The book is divided into four main parts consisting of an introduction, a criticism of the capitalistic organization, an outline of the proposed socialistic organization, and the method of bringing the latter to pass.

In the introduction is found an exposition of socialism, which is contrasted with individualism and anarchism. The author believes that since no genuine individualism can develop except in society, the highest type of individualism can develop only in a socialistic society. The present "anarchy in production" he condemns not alone because it dooms the laborer to poverty, but because it is